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High Court paves way for Little Rock ruling before school opening

By Louis E. Burnham

ON JUNE 21 U.S. District Judge Harry J. Lemley granted the Little Rock school board a two-and-a-half year delay in its program of racial integration and thereby abruptly altered the setting in the South-wide fight against jimcrow education.

Nine days later, on June 30, the Supreme Court closed out its 1957-58 term with a denial of an NAACP appeal for an emergency review of Lemley's order. The High Court ruling left the matter in the hands of the Eighth Circuit Court of Appeals in St. Louis. The NAACP had previously filed with the Appeals Court a notice of appeal and an application for a stay of judgment.

"IN AMPLE TIME": The Supreme Court's suggestion "that the Court of Appeals will recognize the vital importance of the time element in this litigation, and that it will act upon the application for a stay of the appeal in ample time to permit arrangements to be made for the next school year," was tantamount to an order to the justices of the lower court to return from their recess and act on the Little Rock dispute. Lemley, himself, had earlier denied an NAACP motion for a stay.

The Lemley ruling was a frank capitulation to the mob which rioted in front of Central High School last September in an effort to keep nine Negro children out. It was a major concession to the segregationist Mothers League of Central High and the Capital City White Citizens' Council, which had masterminded the year-long persecution of the Negro students inside the school building. If Lemley's ruling stands, seven of the Little Rock Nine who are still enrolled in the school will be barred next September.

"PRIVATE INTEREST": The 35-page opinion sustained the school board's contention that the educational process at

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THE U.S. SIXTH FLEET MANEUVERS OMINOUSLY AT THE BRINK OF THE MEDITERRANEAN
And Washington asks: What right have the Lebanese to change their own government?

MOSCOW WARNS U.S. ON INTERVENTION

The civil war in Lebanon at crisis point

By Kumar Goshal

THE FANTASTIC civil war in Lebanon took an even more bizarre turn last week as the opposition forces fought fiercely to capture the port city of Tripoli. Even as opposition leader Saeb Salaam, fingering a string of religious beads, spoke to correspondents in his flower-bedecked Beirut home, fighting raged a stone's throw away. Nearby in the Presidential palace Camille Chamoun desperately asked for 7,000 armed UN troops to seal off the Lebanese-Syrian border.

UN Secy. Gen. Hammarskjold was reported to have concluded that Syrian aid to the opposition was of no great consequence. He seemed to agree with the UN observer team that 200 UN border watchers would be enough to create "conditions within Lebanon which will make possible a solution by the Lebanese people of [their] internal problem."

A NEW BRINK? This was hardly to the taste of Secy. Dulles, who edged toward another brink when he hinted at Anglo-U.S. armed intervention if Chamoun invoked either Article 51 of the UN Charter or the Eisenhower Doctrine. This, in turn, brought a warning of Soviet intervention.

None of these steps would have any validity under the Charter or the Doctrine. Hammarskjold noted that the UN Security Council resolution had not authorized anything beyond "observation" of alleged border infiltration by a UN team.

Article 51 of the Charter concerns self-defense. It has been interpreted to mean that a UN member could solicit military aid from friendly nations without obtaining UN sanction, but only in the event on an attack from outside.

The Eisenhower Doctrine declares that "the independence and integrity" of Middle East nations is "vital to [U. S.] national interest and world peace." It empowers the President "to use armed force to assist any such nation . . . requesting assistance against armed aggression from any country controlled by international communism."

CHARGES DISCOUNTED: It has never been charged that Lebanon is a victim of outside aggression by the United Arab Republic, and no one in Washington has said that the UAR is "controlled by international communism." Many correspondents and columnists have called it nonsense to say that arms and men are "pouring in" from Syria in support of the Lebanese opposition.

N. Y. Times' military analyst **Hanson W. Baldwin** noted that the Lebanese army commanded by Gen. Fuad Chehab "has never exerted its full strength against the opposition," and felt that Syrian aid to the opposition "cannot be sizable." Otherwise, Baldwin said, either the "flimsy street barricades built by the rebels" would have been "smashed quickly" by government troops heavily armed by the U. S., or the "rebels would have won by now."

To Baldwin "the size of the existing opposition within Lebanon" was "significant," which indicated that the conflict is a "civil war shot with political overtones." This led him to feel that international intervention—in the form of either UN or U. S. military force—"to restore stability may bring only instability."

NEUTRAL GENERAL: A report from a GUARDIAN on-the-spot observer con-

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Golden Rule gives up, but Phoenix sails on to bomb zone

THE CREW of the Golden Rule conceded last week that government intervention had halted their plan to protest this summer's series of nuclear weapons tests in the Pacific. From a Honolulu jail, where they are serving 60-day sentences, Capt. Albert Bigelow and four crewmen announced: "It is impossible for us to sail again before the end of the present tests."

They also sent a letter to President Eisenhower asking that he use his influence to stop the tests and "start turning the course of history away from nuclear warfare."

The Golden Rule set out from San Pedro, Calif., for Honolulu in April. Twice it set sail from Honolulu for the Marshall Islands testing grounds, but each time it was intercepted by a Coast Guard cutter. After the second attempt, made in defiance of a Federal court injunction, the crewmen were jailed.

Meanwhile, another ketch, **Phoenix of Hiroshima,** which left Honolulu June 11, continued on its way to Japan via the testing area. Its captain, Dr. Earle Reynolds, former Antioch College anthropologist, carried on board his family, including two teen-age children, and a Japanese crewman. Before sailing, Reynolds had said his purpose was to call on the people of the U.S. "to examine their government's policies and actions which are now gravely suspect in the eyes of the world."

PROTESTS CONTINUE: The Golden Rule's announcement came two days after the sale of the ketch to a California businessman. In Philadelphia, Lyle Tatum, chairman of Non-Violent Action Against Nuclear Weapons, sponsors of the protest voyage, announced that the committee would "continue to rouse public opinion against the nuclear bomb testing and production of all three nuclear powers."

Additional protests against the tests were voiced at a meeting sponsored by the Committee for a Sane Nuclear Policy at Los Angeles' First Baptist Church on June 23. Dr. Linus Pauling, Nobel prize-winning chemist, Dwight Heinie, a representative of the Marshall Islands, and Atty. A. L. Wirin were the principal speakers.

Dr. Pauling pointed out that an attack by 250 bombs on our 50 largest cities would kill more than half the U.S. population and severely injure millions more. "What kind of insanity is it that makes us even contemplate such horrors?" he asked.

GIANT FIRECRACKERS: Heinie described the spread of fall-out sickness on the Islands, the contamination of food supplies, mostly fish, and of the main export product, copra. He noted that he had been to the U.S. before, in 1954, to place an anti-bomb protest before the United Nations.

He had learned then that it was unlawful to explode firecrackers on the Fourth of July. "But hydrogen bombs are giant firecrackers," he told his L.A. audience. "Why should it be lawful to explode those over our heads?" From the meeting Heinie took a plane to New York to place another anti-bomb petition before the UN Trusteeship Commission. The Marshall Islands is a UN trust trerritory administered by the U.S.

Wirin, who has filed a suit in Federal court to stop further tests, reported that 30,000,000 Japanese, more than half the population of Japan, have signed an anti-bomb petition.

THE MAIL BAG

Outrageous

WEST HAVEN, CONN.

The execution of Nagy in Hungary seems to me an outrageous violation of their agreement.

Jerome Davis

Poor method

NEW YORK, N. Y.

To take revenge against sincere but perhaps mistaken communists, defeated in the struggle over revisionism from Moscow-prescribed orthodoxy, seems a poor method to silence opposition, as we well know from recent experience. Nor will such acts do much to dispel Western mistrust at a time when a summit meeting seems imminent.

As friends of the Soviet Union and ardent supporters of peaceful co-existence, I think it is our duty to protest outrages of this kind, wherever they are committed.

O. Grief

Congressional cynics

EL CAJON, CALIF.

What a bunch of cynics our Congressional representatives are!

They know damn well that they can pass resolutions from now to breakfast, condemning the Communists for executing the Communist Nagy and brother Khrushchev won't bat an eye. If they were honestly so hot and bothered about justice, how about a couple of resolutions on the murder, torture, imprisonment and general suppression of rights of their own constituents in our benighted South?

Until they do, I for one, am convinced that all those joining in the resolutions re Nagy are not one whit more sincere than Dulles says Khrushchev is.

Robert Karger

The elementary fight

ST. PAUL, MINN.

The Chicago **Tribune** of June 18, in an article on the executions in Hungary, goes into the character and political affiliations of the prisoners. All nine of the people were of the Left—officials of the government, Communist newspaper editors, etc. I have heard charges against Horthyites and agents of American imperialists but these prisoners were all members of the CP. No one has yet come up with a prisoner of the Horthy-fascist type.

The article mentions that General Pal Maleter's wife—now living in New York City and now divorced from him—said that they quarreled incessantly over the issue of Communism, he for and she against. The general's wife must speak the truth on this question. She has no more ax to grind.

Putting members to death in secret trials without possible defense is a crime in itself. The most important fight these days in the left-wing forces carries us way back to the elementary fight for democratic rights.

Paul Chelstrom

Some questions

WOODBRIDGE, CONN.

The barbarity with which the whole Imre Nagy affair was handled by the Hungarians (or Russians, it doesn't matter which) fills me with a sense of outrage.

I am one of the few fortunate enough to have been able to spend a little time in Hungary and U.S.S.R. in 1956. At that time I felt the grumbling of the people of Hungary and discovered some of the atrocities of the Stalin era. All this I somehow "understood" as a price that had to be paid for the magnificent progress that I saw, and that somehow the cold war was responsible for 99% of it.

How Crazy Can You Get Dept.

Military personnel dying slowly from radiation sickness can be used in combat for weeks, a Navy scientist said here yesterday.

Dr. Edward I. Alpen of the Navy Radiological Laboratory's biophysics branch at Hunters Point told a symposium on "Medical Problems of Modern Warfare" that death from atomic fallout usually comes slowly and its victims can still help man their ships.

—San Francisco **Chronicle, June 22**

One year free sub to sender of each item printed under this heading. Be sure to send original clip with each entry. Winner this week: Yvonne Cannon, San Francisco.

But this cold-blooded disregard for morality, for justice, for the given word, requires that one rethink the kind of support (and criticism) those who believe in democratic socialism should adopt toward the Soviet Bloc.

Last year while in Washington I visited the Hungarian Embassy because I feared that some such disposition of Nagy as this might occur. It seemed to me at that time that those loyal Americans who fought for and mourn the Rosenbergs should at least concern themselves with the safety and fair treatment of Nagy. It had occurred to me that perhaps an American defense committee of progressives was in order.

I was told unequivocally by an Embassy official that they had received word that Nagy was safe and that there would not be any trial nor would any punitive action be taken against him. To the everlasting troubling of my conscience I allowed myself the leap in logic that assumed because a Hungarian official said this was so, it *ipso facto* was so.

Having made one faulty deduction, what can one properly now deduce from this appalling affair?

That this is 1958 socialist morality and justice Eastern style?

That world public opinion is not important enough to be able to have the facts on these "trials"?

That progressives too must consider whether the West has any right to expect adherence to the pledged word by Eastern countries in any better degree than that experienced by Yugoslavia?

That the reservations of Western reactionary diplomats to conclude agreement with the East have more validity than we progressives had previously thought?

That far from being over, the Stalin period continues in new and different forms?

Louis Zemel

Not subtle enough

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

The intense sympathy of the capitalist world for Imre Nagy should make us think hard.

Imre Nagy had an efficient secret service: surely he must have had some inkling of the coming uprising; also efficient military and police services: why did he not put it down promptly? The fact that the Russians fraternized with the Hungarians on their first entry showed that the Soviets could not believe in the treachery of the people; but of the treachery of those in high places, they were finally convinced. Then they acted promptly and firmly as Nagy should have done in the beginning.

Then Imre Nagy fled to the welcoming arms of Tito, long suspect of double-dealing; and Cardinal Mindszenty, the Catholic Prince Primate, fled to the safe arms of the American Consulate.

At that identical time the British, French and Israelis created a diversion. They attacked Suez, while our leaders were immersed in an election. All of which resembles the fat-bellied pussy cat surrounded by feathers, virtuously vouchsafing to her mistress, "No ma'am, I ain't seen your birdie." It was cunningly arranged but not subtle enough. The rough edges and stuffing peep out all around.

I am convinced that the Hungarian government has not executed an innocent man. I should have hesitated 20 years ago to say that, but not today.

Rita Tully

Help needed

LOS ANGELES, CALIF.

We have just sent our lawyer, Mr. Maynard Omerberg, off to Washington, where, under the Rowoldt Case precedent, he is re-opening the David Hyun case before the Board of Immigration Appeals.

At an initial hearing July 28 here, we will present evidence that physical persecution is still used by the Rhee government against political opponents, and that probable torture and possible death await my husband if he should be deported to South Korea. A long and difficult period of struggle lies ahead.

The financial burdens of this effort are very heavy. They could be made much easier to bear if GUARDIAN readers in 100 communities put on a simple house party benefit, sending whatever sum was raised to Friends and Neighbors of David Hyun, P.O. Box 26026, Los Angeles 26, Calif.

May we have your aid? Whether ten dollars or a hundred are sent, you know how welcome it will be. Right now, your help is needed.

Mary Hyun

Daily Herald, London

"Do look on the bright side of the American recession, Arthur —after all, it might spread to Mr. Dulles."

Up Hallinan!

LOYAL, WIS.

You are getting out a splendid paper. Keep up the good work. That article in the June 9 issue, "Is Earl Warren Being Groomed for President?" by Vincent Hallinan, was especially timely and is worth the entire yearly subscription price.

Albert Hardrath

Down, Hallinan

SEATTLE, WASH.

I cannot agree with Vincent Hallinan as to Earl Warren being groomed for President. I think Warren is sincere when he says one forgets politics finally when on the Bench and has no desire to run. He is needed on the Court. I don't think he had any idea of striving for Negro votes, or that the President appointed him from any vote-getting and build-up motive.

Personally, I doubt if he would have been appointed if it was known how he would be on the Court. Warren is not the first Justice to disappoint Presidents who appointed them. I am surprised at Hallinan's reasoning.

Merrit E. Smith

Summer in the Rockies?

DURANGO, COLO.

My youngest son was 18 in March and enlisted in the Air Force to keep from being drafted. That leaves me all alone at 63 to look after a few head of cattle and put up the crop (oat hay, mostly). I have 48 acres of farm land and only planted about 21 acres. I can't afford to hire it done with farm prices like they are. I am sick at heart, I don't know what to do.

If you have a personal friend and GUARDIAN reader who would like to spend the summer out here in the mountains, have him write to me c/o the GUARDIAN.

Durango Dan.

Tough scalp

TOMAHAWK, WIS.

I see the Un-Americans are after the scalp of Cyrus Eaton. It will be very interesting to learn what color they will paint him. From that investigation may emerge a new class of people. They will probably be dubbed "capitalistic communists," which would only prove that even millionairies can be liberal. I certainly hope Cyrus can show the committee how un-American they really are.

John V. Hanlan

Welcomes new party

BRONX, N.Y.

An independent political party representing workers, minority groups, intellectuals, etc., is just what the doctor ordered. May this new party usher in a new era of peace, prosperity and socialism.

Stanley Koffman

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REPORT TO READERS

Bring the boys home!

WHEN WE LAST COUNTED UP the known number of U.S. military personnel taken captive on foreign soil (without our being at war with anyone), it came to 45. The breakdown was like this:

● In the hands of the East German government, nine Air Force personnel; their plane made a forced landing last month in the territory of the German Democratic Republic.

● In the hands of the Soviet government, nine Air Force officers and men whose plane was forced down last fortnight in Soviet Armenia.

● In the hands of the Cuban forces under the command of rebel Fidel Castro, 27 U.S. Marines and Navy personnel seized near the U.S. Navy base at Guantanamo Bay.

Accidents can happen. A plane can stray off its course and find itself unwittingly in forbidden territory. It may become disabled and have to make a forced landing, as most likely was the case in the East German incident. But there have been too many stories lately about the Strategic Air Command's plans to send U.S. nuclear bombers zooming toward the Soviet Union at the drop of a blob on a radar screen to make anyone feel comfortable—least of all the people in the intended target areas. At the London trial of the Oxford students who disclosed details of provocative forays by British military personnel in Eastern Europe, there also were revelations that are not conducive to relaxed border patrols.

IT WAS BAD WEATHER that forced the U.S. plane to stray over into Armenia, said the Defense Dept. The plane, it said, was a cargo plane carrying freight to military and diplomatic missions in Iran and Pakistan. The craft "burned up" on landing. There was no explanation of the fire except as reported in a single radio broadcast soon after the story broke. The broadcast said the plane had been destroyed by the American crew evidently to prevent secret installations or diplomatic secrets from falling into Soviet hands.

THE CASE OF THE KIDNAPED MARINES in Cuba is different. The affair is loaded with Latin American dynamite. The U.S. base at Guantanamo is authorized by the Cuban government. The base has been supplying Cuban government planes hunting down Castro's rebels in the province of Oriente. The rebels, fighting to rid their country of a hated dictator, kidnaped the Americans in retaliation for this aid to dictator Batista. The men are in no danger, but the reputation of the U.S. is past the danger point. Ask Mr. Nixon.

Neither are the men in danger in East Germany or the Soviet Union. But there is a corollary here that needs little underscoring: The more widely U.S. military forces fan out, the more likely it is they will get into trouble. Trouble of this sort can lead to worse.

THERE IS, AS FAR AS WE KNOW, no Soviet military personnel in U.S. captivity for violating U.S. air space. Nor any Germans. There are Cubans in U.S. jails who have tried to help free their homeland.

If the East Germans seem sticky about returning the U.S. fliers, the State Dept. seems more interested in "face" than in having the fliers back. The absurdity of non-recognition by Washington of the East German Republic is emphasized by the fact of a Soviet Embassy in Bonn.

Now that the Supreme Court has knocked down the passport barriers, we have a suggestion to make: Let Washington call its military home and give us civilians a chance to go abroad as ambassadors of good will for a change.

—THE GUARDIAN

CEDRIC BELFRAGE ON THE EXECUTIONS IN HUNGARY

A matter for socialists—East & West—to ponder

By Cedric Belfrage

LONDON

IF THERE ARE ANY GUARDIAN READERS who are not sick at heart after the secret trial and execution of Nagy and his companions, it must be that they find something I miss in the statements of official Budapest, Moscow and Peking. On the facts as made public, the protest of the Yugoslav government, which gave Nagy asylum and was duped into surrendering him, seems as reasonable as its reminder of previous political trials later admitted to have been wholly unjustified.

Peking's **Ta Kung Pao,** pronouncing the executions "entirely correct and necessary," lumps together all who protest as "imperialists' henchmen," "renegades" and "slanderers" guilty of "new, open interference in Hungary's internal affairs . . . The imperialists are trying to use Nagy's ghost to divert world attention from their plot against Lebanon."

That imperialism stands ever-ready to invent socialist crimes to divert attention from its own, hardly needs re-stating. It is also true that the ghosts created by imperialism run into tens of thousands in Africa alone, in the few years since the U.S.S.R. admitted and halted its Stalin-era bloodbath. But by comparison with the Hungarian ghosts this mountain of corpses weighs little in the scales of propaganda as they are so skillfully manipulated.

IT IS ALSO TRUE that all the unsavory characters on the world political scene, from Dulles to the pseudo-socialists to the covert counter-revolutionaries in socialist lands, are shedding crocodile tears over Nagy while seeking to fasten their teeth more firmly into the resurgent masses. Everywhere liberal mourners are seen climbing eagerly into bed with John Foster, who doubts if he can now sit down at any meeting with socialist-world leaders who are "stained with blood." A terrifying spectacle, considering the peril of extinction in which all humanity stands.

Yet at the same time one of Britain's most devoted and respected working-class leaders expresses his "shock and horror" at the "folly and futility" of the executions. He is the miners' Arthur Horner, himself a Communist. And a resolution by the progressive Fire Brigades Union calls the executions "a shameful reversion to the methods of the Stalin period."

These protests come from people who have invested their blood, sweat and tears without stint in the progressive movement at home, and in defense of the world socialist cause. They are comradely protests, motivated by no arrogance or "bourgeois morality." Those who utter them can only speculate, like everyone else, on the pressures and conflicts within the leadership of the socialist countries which might explain if not justify the decision to execute the Hungarians.

IF THE SOCIALIST-WORLD LEADERS fail to recognize in such protests the voice of their true friends, it will be perhaps the greatest tragedy of all. The voice is saying that socialists in the capitalist world have made sacrifices too for the cause, and will not stand silent while that cause is again dragged through a mire of terror where socialism reigns and torn to pieces where the fight remains to be won. It is reminding the socialist world that the movement is universal, and that if its less advanced forces have a responsibility toward the more advanced, that goes in the other direction too.

Assuming that the Soviet and Chinese leaders really believe it was "correct and necessary" to execute Nagy while affording a haven to Rakosi, will they not accept from the friends of their countries some simple facts? Public defense of the executions is impossible anywhere and by anyone in the West. Friendship with Western peoples, as distinct from imperialists, can not be built by defenders of the Nagy executions. Socialism can not be spread to new countries by defenders of such political vindictiveness—not in a century. They will only dig their own political graves.

POLICE HALT DEMONSTRATORS IN PARIS
Hungarian refugees and others protest at a Soviet movie

COLD WAR GETTING COLDER

World attitudes stiffen in wake of Nagy execution in Hungary

By Elmer Bendiner

THE CLIMATE in the capitals of the world turned chill last week in the wake of the executions in Hungary. It was not only the executions themselves, and world reaction to them, but the growing impression that they may have signaled what all who are working for peace fear most: the beginning of a new era in which the lines between opposing forces would be more sharply drawn. In Peking, Moscow, Belgrade and Washington there was a disposition to say: "He who is not with us is against us."

In Peking, where a year ago there had been talk of "all flowers blooming" and an appreciation of flexibility in handling "contradictions" under socialism, there was now fierce bitterness toward "revisionists"—native and foreign. When the diplomatic corps gave a reception for the departing Yugoslav ambassador Vladimir Popovic no Chinese officials showed up. They similarly boycotted Popovic's official reception and sent a very minor official to the airport to see him off. The Chinese press referred to Marshal Tito as a "turncoat" and "traitor" serving his "imperialist masters."

WHAT CHINA WANTS: Yugoslavia, in turn, has been denouncing China in even more vigorous terms than it has applied to Hungary or the Soviet Union. Tito charged that China is "bothered by our peaceful policy, the policy of co-existence."

China has consistently held to a peace policy but lately the mood in Peking has been less conciliatory. The demands for the return of Formosa to China have grown more frequent. There were confident predictions that in a few years China too might be a nuclear power. In China's **Red Flag** CP Chairman Mao Tse-tung wrote: "China's 600,000,000 people . . . want change, want to do things, want revolution. . . ." He quoted a classic Chinese poem of confidence and triumph: "Thunderbolts wake the universe to vitality! Shall, sadly, ten thousand horses stand mute? I counsel Heaven to bestir itself anew and, breaking set standards, send forth genius."

POLAND IN THE MIDDLE: The demonstrations in Moscow, almost unprecedented, seemed to give notice of a new toughness that would make itself felt at the bargaining table in Geneva.

Within Communist parties around the world there was no disposition to renew the debate of "many roads" vs. one road to socialism.

In Poland, next to Yugoslavia the center of "revisionism," the earlier cautious mood gave way to a statement by Wladyslaw Gomulka that Imre Nagy had inched closer and closer to "reactionaries and counter-revolutionaries." Gomulka refused to commit himself on whether Nagy's execution had been just, saying: "This is an internal affair." He accused the West of using Nagy's execution to divert attention from imperialist drives in the Middle East.

Gomulka also took a position on Yugoslavia. He said that "revisionist theories" separated Belgrade from the socialist commonwealth. He granted Yugoslavia's sincere desire for peace, but said that Tito's attitude "goes hand in hand with the wishes and aspirations of international reaction."

In Belgrade the reaction to Gomulka's statement was that it had been made under pressure from Moscow.

LONDON AND NEW YORK: Other socialist governments promptly offered their approval of the executions. Communist parties in capitalist countries went along too,—without reservations but some regrets. The London **Daily Worker** said there was "regret and great concern . . . that the [Hungarian] Supreme Court felt it necessary to impose death sentences" and that the paper shared those feelings, but then went on to assert the guilt of all the defendants and accepting the indictment as written.

The **N. Y. Worker** took an identical position. In an editorial it said that much of the protest came from "men who manage to restrain their horror" over the murder of Negroes in the South, of Algerians, Guatemalans or Cubans. It distinguished from such protests the "regretful concern" of "democrats and even well-wishers of socialism and a socialist Hungary." Then the **Worker** said: "But facts are facts even when they are hard." Like the London **Daily Worker** it listed the charges in the Budapest communique and accepted them.

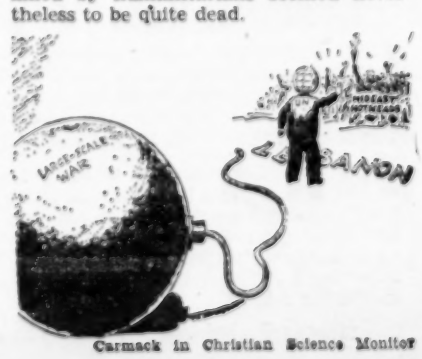
Socialist parties around the world unanimously condemned the executions, denounced the Soviet Union, picketed and demonstrated before Hungarian embassies, indicating that far more than wars in Algeria or elsewhere, the one issue that can unite them is an anti-Soviet crusade.

NO ALIBI WANTED: Independent socialists took a different position. In London the influential **New Statesman** condemned the executions vigorously but ended by saying that these must not be seized upon as a pretext for postponing peace negotiations. In Paris an issue of **France-Observateur** was confiscated by the de Gaulle government because it compared repressions in Hungary with those in Algeria.

The Paris **Liberation** headed its story: "The execution of Nagy must not be the alibi for atomic warriors." It said that protests came properly from those who had always opposed secret trials and the death penalty for political prisoners but were unacceptable coming from those who did not "raise an eyebrow" when the Rosenbergs were executed or when Henri Alleg was tortured in Algeria or who cite Franco and Syngman Rhee as models of "free world" democracy.

GERMAN "HORROR": The West German government of Chancellor Adenauer, heavily staffed with those who participated in the worst atrocities of modern times, pretended to be horrified by the executions. When riots in Bonn were answered by riots in Moscow which damaged some of the drapery and furniture of the West German Embassy there, the Chancellor indignantly ordered a trade commission to break off its tour of the Soviet Union. Not all West Germans approved that move. A Social Democratic Party spokesman in Bonn said the "unspeakable executions" were no reason to cease trying for a "modus vivendi" with the Russians. He said: "We think that our relations with the U.S.S.R. must not constantly depend on external events, terrible as they may be."

In the U. S. officials and newspapers had the expected field day. Among the more restrained commentators was Henry S. Hayward, chief of the **Christian Science Monitor's** London news bureau, who wrote on the nationalist problem: "The Communists have their way of dealing with that problem—and the world once more has been given a vivid demonstration that their way is the ruthless liquidation of leaders. The West approaches the problem from a more humanitarian basis. . . ." Still, in Georgia, Algeria, South Africa, Kenya and Cyprus those killed by humanitarians seemed nevertheless to be quite dead.



Carmack in Christian Science Monitor

NOTICE

BEGINNING with the current issue, dated July 7, the GUARDIAN will appear in its customary summer-time eight-page edition until after Labor Day. The 12-page edition will be resumed with the issue dated Sept. 15. The news and special features will be as up-to-date as ever through the summer.

FOR INTERNATIONAL DISARMAMENT

Australian unions support Stockholm peace congress

By Bill Irwin
Special to the Guardian

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA

THE AUSTRALIAN Council of Trade Unions, top body of the Australian trade union movement, has decided to support the Congress for Disarmament and International Cooperation to be held at Stockholm from July 16 to 22.

The decision reflects a change in the Australian labor movement in the past three years, and particularly in the last four months. Australian labor is anti-Communist but it has broken free from Cold War concepts. Today it is playing an increasingly independent role in arousing public opinion for peace and against nuclear warfare and experiments.

The change began shortly before the Federal Australian Labor Party Conference at Hobart in March, 1956. There the traditional Labor forces won a victory over a Rightist movement which was an Australian expression of McCarthyism. The movement was (and is) led by an extremist section of Catholic Action and was based on the so-called Industrial Groups which were formed to fight Communism in the trade unions.

PEACE PROGRAM: The set-back to this movement by supporters of Labor leader Dr. Herbert Evatt (a former president of the UN General Assembly) opened the way for constructive peace policies which, helped by international developments, have continued to grow in scope and vigor.

The Hobart conference adopted resolutions calling for generous aid for Asian peoples and the ending of colonialism; opposing the continued use of Australian armed forces against the guerrillas in Malaya; and encouraging official and unofficial visits between Australia and Asian countries. "In particular," the latter resolution said, "the Australian Labor Movement itself should seek direct contact with Asian countries . . . no Asian country should be excluded from such exchanges."

DR. HERBERT EVATT
Australia's Labor Party leader

In other actions, the conference denounced atomic war and A- and H-bomb experiments, and urged UN admission to "all nations now awaiting membership," including Continental China. The conference also favored Labor Party observers at the Bandung conference in Indonesia. This resolution, like the others, would have been unthinkable only a few months earlier.

THE EFFECTS: Following the 1956 Conference, the Rightist movement was largely expelled from the Labor Party and now exists as a separate political party dedicated to the defeat of "Evatt Labor."

At the next Federal Labor Party conference in Brisbane in March, 1957, the immediate opening of diplomatic relations with Continental China was demanded. The effect of these changes in the A.L.P. was to end the isolation of the courageous but small Peace movement. "Peace" became respectable. Red-baiting continued but with diminishing effect. Developments since then strengthening the peace movement have included the Olympic Games, a visit by the Chinese Classical Opera Company; a visit to Australia by a delegation of leading Chinese trade unionists; and visits to China of Australian trade union and Labor Party leaders.

MOVEMENT GROWS: In March this year the Melbourne Trade Hall Council —representing the trade unions of Victoria—held a Peace Week climaxed by a large public meeting. Three hundred and fifty Australian scientists called on the Australian government to support a ban on nuclear tests. A Gallup Poll showed that only 37% of Australians thought H-tests should continue.

May Day marches in Australian cities with wide trade union support featured peace themes. The Hiroshima Panels, exhibited in the various state capitals, drew large crowds to city galleries. On Sunday, May 25, Dr. Evatt spoke at a major anti-H-bomb demonstration called by the Central Methodist Mission in Sydney.

Last month top trade union bodies in all states announced a Peace Week marked by activities such as rallies, factory meetings and petitions.

Now the most widely representative delegation yet—trade unionists, teachers, doctors, and representatives of women's organizations, business circles and the Peace movement—are ready to leave for Stockholm, backed by the A.C.T.U. and a sponsoring committee containing names of prominent Australians who had not been associated with the Peace movement before.

MONTANA SMITH ACT CASE

Hellman gets 5 years; he files appeal

JOHN HELLMAN, former national committeeman of the Progressive Party from Montana, has filed an appeal from his conviction May 27 by a federal jury in Butte for membership in the Communist Party under the membership provision of the Smith Act. Paid government witnesses provided the testimony against Hellman. The jury was prevented by the judge from recommending leniency.

He was later sentenced to five years and his bail doubled to $10,000 pending the appeal. No fine was levied. Seven other Smith Act membership cases are still pending throughout the country, in addition to membership indictments obtained in 1948 but never pressed against the first Foley Square Smith Act conspiracy defendants. One membership case, that of Emanuel Blum of Indiana, was dismissed this year following a Supreme Court decision returning two other membership cases to district courts for retrial.

Funds for Hellman's appeal may be sent to him at Box 113, Butte, Montana.

THE MOISEYEVS GET A HAND

The Moiseyev Dance Company returned last month for a second run in New York after a triumphant tour of the U.S. They played to SRO houses at Madison Sq. Garden (see Spectator, p. 8). Among the enthusiasts at a Washington performance was Secy. Dulles, shown above shaking hands with ballerina Tamara Zeifert, while her husband, Igor Moiseyev, director of the company and its organizing genius, looks on. Dulles' enthusiasm seemed to indicate that if Khrushchev could only dance Dulles would do hand-springs all the way to the Summit. But has he ever asked him?

War in Lebanon

(Continued from Page 1)

roborated Baldwin and said that Gen. Chehab apparently has taken a neutral position in the civil war, with the army divided in its loyalties. The observer wrote:

"It seems that in each front the commanding officer is acting according to his own views. The army is Lebanese; its function is to repel outside aggression and it generally finds uncongenial the task of fighting its own kin. There seems to be a tacit split among the officers, apparently based on religious attachment, personal interests and innumerable other factors."

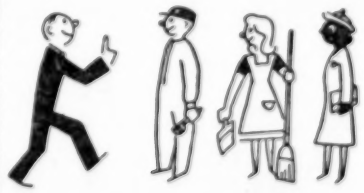
The danger of East-West involvement in the Lebanese conflict lay in the fact that Chamoun, unable to command the loyalty of the army, seemed to be counting on some "incident" involving an American or British citizen to invite the landing of British paratroopers and American marines. He was reported to have told an Indian correspondent last week he would "soon decide" to request Anglo-U. S. military intervention for "the protection of British and American nationals and institutions." Another excuse already used is the accusation that opposition leaders planned to liquidate Lebanon's identity by merging their country with the UAR.

FOR THE CONSTITUTION: Chief opposition leaders Kamal Jumblatt, Saeb Salaam and Rashid Karami told **Manchester Guardian** correspondent Michael Adams "categorically" that they wish merely to end "a foreign policy . . . not in keeping with the spirit of the Lebanese Constitution" since it violates "that neutrality which all agree is the only course for Lebanon." The London **Observer**, too, likened Lebanon to Switzerland and said Beirut might make this comparison "more real by adopting an absolute neutrality which could be guaranteed by the great powers."

But the Western great powers seemed determined to prevent Lebanese neutrality. **Newsweek** reported (6/30) London and Paris were urging Washington to take "decisive measures in Lebanon," and conceded that such an act would "more than justify the abortive British-French-Israeli move against Nasser in 1956."

The "decisive measures" might even include the use of nuclear weapons: **U. S. News & World Report** (6/27) said that, when President Eisenhower and top Administration leaders conferred at Quantico, Va., on June 19, Defense Secy. Neil H. McElroy discussed the Lebanese situation with reporters and told them the U.S. might use "hopefully clean and certainly limited" atomic bombs in any small war "where it is militarily advantageous to us." The N.Y. **World-Telegram** reported: "We've said we'll send troops, if Lebanon asked for them. . . . Orders have been drafted, troops selected. U. S. military leaders are waiting for the word."

Middle East observers generally agreed that U. S.-British intervention in Lebanon would be disastrous for world peace. They believed with Michael Adams that the West should simply tell "Chamoun politely" that the Lebanese should pick their own President "and that, if he cannot hold his own against his own subjects, neither government will lift a finger to save him."



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BASIC PRINCIPLE ABANDONED

AFL-CIO gives up fight against union-curbing bill

"MY ONLY COMMENT, Senator, is God save us from our friends." That was the way AFL-CIO President George Meany last March received the proposals for labor legislation from Sen. John F. Kennedy (D-Mass.) who reportedly plans to run for the Presidency in 1960 as a "friend" of labor.

It was at a Senate labor committee hearing presided over by Kennedy, and Meany, slapping the table to emphasize his sense of outrage, said: "You are starting from the personal assumption that legislation [to clean labor's house] is necessary—I don't."

By the middle of May, barely two months after the hearing, Meany at the Atlantic City convention of the AFL-CIO said that private talks between labor leaders and friendly Senators had led to "considerable areas of agreement" on legislation to control labor in the name of racket-busting.

THE REGULATIONS: Early in June the Senate committee, headed by Kennedy and Irving M. Ives (R-N.Y.), produced a bill that was hailed as the result and justification of the luridly spot-lighted labor rackets investigation held by Sen. John L. McClellan (D-Ark.) in the winter of 1957. The AFL-CIO endorsed it with only the mildest reservations.

This "labor-backed" bill also had the endorsement of the most inveterate anti-labor men in the Senate. McClellan, Johnson (D-Tex.), Eastland (D-Miss.), Knowland (R-Calif.) were all for it. On June 17 it passed the Senate 88-1.

The bill would demand voluminous reports from all trade unions with the possible exeption of those with fewer than 200 members, or an income less than $20,000, if the Secy. of Labor chooses to waive the requirements in such cases. The reports would cover not only financial arrangements but what are called "internal processes" which might mean anything. International unions would have to ballot for officers every four years, locals every three years. Those convicted of felonies would be barred from holding office.

ONE CONCESSION: Failure to file the required reports, filing them falsely or destroying union records could bring criminal penalties. Officers who failed to file would be barred from union office for five years.

For its cooperation the AFL-CIO got one genuine pro-labor concession: Strikers would be permitted to vote in a representation election even though the struck company had hired strike-breakers in their place. Under Taft-Hartley a company can hire strike-breakers and after a period of time call for a new election in which the strike-breakers, but not the strikers, decide the question of what union is to be the bargaining agent.

KNOWLAND EXAMPLE: Before the Senate reached its almost unanimous vote there was considerable jockeying. Originally a tougher anti-labor bill was reported in the works but the returns from the California primary indicated that this election year was not an appropriate time for an all-out offensive on the labor movement.

Belland in Communication Workers News
"Here, try this!"

Knowland had campaigned in California and in Congress for the most rigid labor controls and for union-busting "right-to-work" laws. His poor showing, particularly in the industrial areas of California, was a revelation to those who thought that after the McClellan committee's exposure, it would be good politics to be anti-labor.

The result was that McClellan, Knowland and others worked quietly with the "friends" of labor in the Senate to achieve the Kennedy-Ives bill. The Administration found little to argue against in the measure though Labor Secy. Mitchell stirred up a brief, inconsequential flurry. He protested a clause in the original draft that automatically would have exempted from the reporting requirements all unions under 200 members.

It seemed clear that he was building a case for Republican candidates who wanted to show the toughness of the GOP in the face of the Democrats' "soft policy." The authors of the bill quickly yielded and left the exemption to the discretion of the Secretary of Labor, which mollified Mitchell.

THE SURRENDER: No one expected that the bill would stand much chance of House passage in this session. House members, it was said, had none of the prestige and the headlines from the Senate's exposures of trade unions and felt disinclined to follow supinely the Senate's lead. More important, all sides seemed to feel that the bill would make a better political issue dead than alive.

The significance of the debate does not lie in the legislation, itself, so much as in the surrender of a principle by the AFL-CIO, a surrender which may ease the way for worse legislation next session.

The principle, as old as the labor movement itself, is that labor must be free to manage its own house, with no controls other than existing laws applicable to all. Thomas Kennedy, vice president of the independent United Mine Workers, said: "We believe there is a principle involved here that labor must uphold. To do otherwise is to compromise that principle; to admit that the labor movement needs a guardian in the form of legislation and bureaucratic administration of such legislation." He predicted that enactment of the law would "open the door for additional punitive and controlling legislation" which he said, compared with communist labor laws.

VICTORS BY DEFAULT
Labor-baiter McClellan and counsel

Other independents, like the West Coast longshoremen, fought the McClellan investigation from the start and condemned the AFL-CIO leadership when it "caved in" and agreed to cooperate with those who had pilloried all labor for the corruption of some Teamsters' officials. Citing McClellan's record, ILWU President Harry Bridges in the union's paper, **The Dispatcher**, wrote: "That the labor statesmen now leading the AFL-CIO could have hoped to make a deal with the likes of these is incredible. But then, this is not the first incredible thing these men have done in recent years."

The Independocrat at the Dinner Table

By W. E. B. DuBois

FRIEND WIFE regards me disparagingly as she serves the soup; it is split pea from a can, but reinforced and encouraged with home genius.

"So you're entering politics again."

I nod dissent. The soup is very tasty.

"But you are advocating a third party."

"Yes."

"What chance has a third party?"

"Small, I fear."

"Then why on earth do you support it?"

"I must—one never can tell when the change will come."

"Also, one never can tell when brambles will bear berries."

"Or shrimps whistle; but one can guess when third parties must come in order to avert disaster. I somehow sense the critical time. I cannot believe that the American people are stupid enough to bow much longer to the rule of the idiots now in Washington or to confine their choice in Albany to an heir of the Robber Barons or of the Rockefeller Oil Trust whose victims at Caracas yesterday spit in our faces."

"You can't imagine this? You who saw the Communists jailed, the Rosenbergs crucified, Sobell persecuted, Saypol and Kaufman promoted, and you yourself handcuffed for talking peace."

WITH THE ROAST, which has delicious gravy, I hasten to admit that I am naturally credulous.

"To live is to try. To try is often to fail. To fail is to try again. What else? That is life. A third party is due either by vote or by violence. I prefer a vote."

The Lawyer, after a second helping, butts in. As a rule I avoid lawyers; but this one helped keep me out of jail. I like him.

"But the guys that you got about you—can you trust them?"

"Yes."

"Why?"

"Because we agree."

"Entirely?"

"Oh, no—naturally not—being human; but in essentials. We agree on seven points: No more war; cease preparation for war and atomic bomb testing; stop universal military service; justice to labor with fair taxation; abolish the racial and color line; peaceful co-existence with socialist states; recognition of a citizen's right to vote for Socialism."

"Is that all these fellows believe in "

"Oh, no—each one believes in this and much more. For instance, the Socialist reveres Trotsky, hates Stalin and declares that the Soviet Union is not really a socialist state."

"And you agree with him?"

"Oh, no. I say: 'Trotsky and Stalin are dead, and will in all probability remain so. Call the U.S.S.R. what you will, it has given the world the best educational system today in existence; it has established social medicine for 200,000,000 people; it has abolished unemployment; it has broken the grip on a nation of one of the worst systems of superstition and religious dogmatism the world has seen; it has planned industry successfully and advanced science miraculously. It should be our aim to do as well as this and to do it if we can in less time and less cost. But at whatever time and cost, do it we must'."

The Lawyer returns to the fray. "And do you lean on Liberals?" he wants to know.

"As little as possible, yet we must lean somewhere. Liberals are avowed enemies of socialism, but firm friends of progress. They mean well and usually that is about all they mean. Nevertheless, the good intentions which pave Hell are better than no pavement at all."

I MANAGE to avoid the green salad, but the dessert is rhumbaba and delicious. Friend Wife is ominously silent, while I sip and muse aloud, as the others politely pretend to listen.

"The free democracies of the West are disintegrating, Socialism increases, Communism spreads, France falls and we seem to follow. Our Senators are old and frightened, and ordered about by a pro-slavery South, owned by Texan oil millionaires and led by Eastland and Byrd. Our Congressmen are spry and active representatives of their own private business interests, while well-paid lobbies with the best brains in the land attend to public business. Big Business is buying up our educational system and telling us what to teach. The news agencies tell us what we may hear. The Department of Justice tries to limit what we may say; and the Department of State, where we may go. We just don't know how to use our freedom; so we gamble and take dope."

THE TEACHER who is nice but timid puts down her spoon and sighs:

"You are impossible."

"True," I beam. "And that is because I live in an Impossible World. Despite that, I refuse to commit suicide. I face Hoover and his secret police resurrected from the Medieval Inquisition. The FBI gathers gossip, tittle-tattle guesses, and lies, in secret dossiers which scare the bravest. It can detect in hours treason against Big Business but is unable to discover the Ku Klux Klan in years. Congress lets itself be blackmailed into giving endless money to snoop and hire liars at wages far higher than we pay teachers and artists—and without Civil Service rules.

"All this is frightening and I am far from serene, but somehow I cannot believe that the United States of America, once the greatest democracy on earth, will forever remain unseeing enough to bow to this unreason."

I HAPPEN HERE to look across the table and see stark Fear. It lies behind the eyes of the Man who is always Silent. I suddenly realize why he is afraid, for his wife, his child, his job; for his own soul, now lost, which once dared poetry, satire and sketched cartoons; he is afraid for me. Yet he says no word and I make no reply. I continue to talk.

"The nation may awake this fall. It may not. If not, we fail and try again—What?"

I'm not sure who spoke—it might have been me—or even Friend Wife:

"You ask a definition of a Fool?"

Friend Wife smiles and herds us upstairs for coffee.

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Mortimer Frankel, editor and publisher, is a veteran author, journalist, writer on religious subjects, and former associate script editor of the CBS network. **Survival** office is at 200 W. 72nd St., New York. Subscription rate is $4 yearly ($3 pre-publication); $2.25 semi-yearly.

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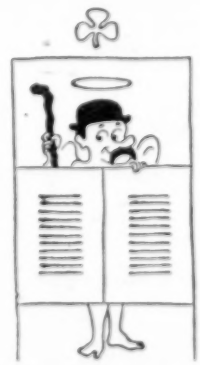

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Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

Central had been impaired by the Negro students' presence and could be improved only by their removal. It recognized the Negro students' constitutional "private interest" in unsegregated education but posed against it what was described as the larger interest of "all students and potential students . . . in having a smoothly functioning educational system capable of furnishing the type of education that is necessary for successful living but also for the very survival of our nation and its institutions."

With an eye to judicial review, Lemley referred to the rulings of the Supreme Court. After declaring segregated public schooling unconstitutional in May, 1954, the High Court waited a year before outlining how its mandate should be carried out. In May, 1955, it provided that integration should occur "with all deliberate speed," in the light of local problems and under the supervision of Southern Federal judges.

NOT SO SURPRISING: Under this ruling the courts have been approving plans for the piecemeal enforcement of the constitutional rights of Negro children, as in Nashville, Tenn., Greensboro and Charlotte, N. C., and many other cities. In Little Rock itself the plan was as gradual as could be conceived: all but nine Negro children remained in jimcrow high schools; integration in the elementary grades was not to begin until it had been completed in the higher. In seven states (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Virginia) not a single Negro child has enjoyed the right the Court proclaimed four years ago.

Under these circumstances, Lemley's decision, though it caused justifiable outrage in liberal and progressive circles, should not have been a surprise. The High Court in its second decision had provided a built-in apparatus for overturning its first. An organized minority of militant racists were quick to seize it and in Little Rock "all deliberate speed" became deliberate nullification.

A ROLLBACK: The school board called its June 21 "victory" a "tactical delay but not a surrender" of the principle of integration. But the **Christian Science Monitor** saw in the decision "more of a rollback of already accomplished school desegregation than another delay in its implementation."

The reaction of Southern segregationists supported this estimate. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia said the situation would be no better "two years hence than it is now." Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus promised to use the interlude "to shore up the defenses of the state against the sea of federal intervention and domination which threatens to engulf us." Louisiana State Sen. W. M. Rainach declared that "integration just won't work where Negroes make up a substantial percentage of the total population."

In its petition to the Supreme Court the NAACP argued that Lemley's order "will certainly create instability" in many areas where court cases are pending or school boards are preparing to integrate in the fall. The day before the Board of Education of Dallas, Tex., voted not to integrate its schools in September as it had been ordered by a Federal court to do. It based its action on the conflict between state statutes requiring segregation and Federal law as interpreted by the Court.

Major cities in which school integration is scheduled to begin with the next term are Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk and Newport News, Va.

WHITE HOUSE VISIT: It seemed clear that whether the rollback could be halted would depend not alone on what the Courts rule, but also on some initiative from the President and the Congress.

Four Negro leaders went to the White House to discuss their people's problems with President Eisenhower on June 23 and came away with no assurance that he was any more prepared to supply the initiative than he has been for the past four years. The four were Dr. Martin Luther King, president of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference; A. Philip Randolph, AFL-CIO vice president and president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters; Roy Wilkins, secretary of the NAACP, and Lester Granger, executive secretary of the Natl. Urban League.

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New York

Four-Week Summer Term
CLASSES AND FORUMS

Tuesdays (July 9, 16, 23, 30)
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HERBERT APTHEKER
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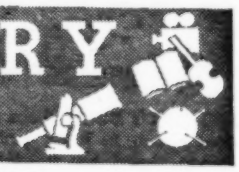

THE FIRST NATIONAL MISSILE Industry Conference, held in Washington recently, centered around the theme: "Improving the State of the Art." The following bit of poetry made the rounds during the conference:

My missile lies over the ocean
My missile lies over the sea
If ever my missile is missing
Please bring back the nose cone to me.

Roger W. Babson, dean of American investment advisers, offers the following hints to coupon clippers on how to prepare for thermonuclear war: "Investments should be widely diversified among smaller well-run industrial companies, and among companies owning large reserves of natural resources underground. Chain stores with wide geographical and product diversification are very desirable as a hedge against bombing and inflation. Certain well-located real estate could become very valuable. All should build up reserve buying and investment funds, but avoid long-term bonds. Learn about Civilian Defense, survival suggestions. Finally, I emphasize the importance of sane religious faith, good health, intensive education and industry as the best protection against World War III, and the only hope for survival from any such catastrophe."

"THIS IS NOT A DEPRESSION, or even a recession, but just a business lull caused by the Russian Sputnik and the recent severe weather," says Secy. of Commerce Sinclair Weeks . . . An official of the Internal Revenue service, testifying recently on ethics in government, suggested weight as the decisive factor. He said he draws the line at "a 12-pound ham." He would accept that as a gift, but not a 13-pound one. . . . Prize of the week for evasive action goes to Mason Sears, U.S. delegate to the UN. Arthur S. Lall, Indian delegate, asked Sears why, if the U.S. feels it must continue bomb tests, it doesn't subject its own people to them instead of the "Asian peoples" of the Pacific? "If the representative of India considers the Marshall Islands as Asian, the United States could also be regarded as Asian, since the country is a melting pot of many races," Sears answered.

SOUR GRAPES DEPARTMENT: The **Jewish Daily Forward** comments: "The Soviet Sputniks are like big wall clocks, and the American satellites are like wrist watches that are smaller but just as good if not better than the big wall clocks." . . . Louis Cheskin of Color Research Institute blames the Russians for changing the colors of our automobiles. Their Sputniks have caused Americans to think sobering thoughts and this means darker colored cars, he reasons.

—Tim Wohlforth

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SURVIVAL, a four-page weekly newspaper reporting and commenting on the American anti-H-bomb movement and the cold war, will make its bow on Hiroshima Day, Aug. 6. Major attention will be given to analysis of press, radio and TV cold-war propaganda.

Mortimer Frankel, editor and publisher, is a veteran author, journalist, writer on religious subjects, and former associate script editor of the CBS network. **Survival** office is at 200 W. 72nd St., New York. Subscription rate is $4 yearly ($3 pre-publication); $2.25 semi-yearly.

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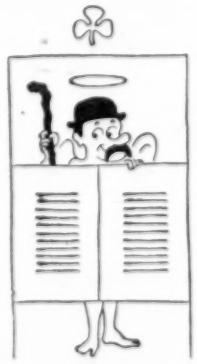
On July Tenth at Nine in the Evening



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Little Rock story

(Continued from Page 1)

Central had been impaired by the Negro students' presence and could be improved only by their removal. It recognized the Negro students' constitutional "private interest" in unsegregated education but posed against it what was described as the larger interest of "all students and potential students . . . in having a smoothly functioning educational system capable of furnishing the type of education that is necessary for successful living but also for the very survival of our nation and its institutions."

With an eye to judicial review, Lemley referred to the rulings of the Supreme Court. After declaring segregated public schooling unconstitutional in May, 1954, the High Court waited a year before outlining how its mandate should be carried out. In May, 1955, it provided that integration should occur "with all deliberate speed," in the light of local problems and under the supervision of Southern Federal judges.

NOT SO SURPRISING: Under this ruling the courts have been approving plans for the piecemeal enforcement of the constitutional rights of Negro children, as in Nashville, Tenn., Greensboro and Charlotte, N. C., and many other cities. In Little Rock itself the plan was as gradual as could be conceived: all but nine Negro children remained in jimcrow high schools; integration in the elementary grades was not to begin until it had been completed in the higher. In seven states (Louisiana, Mississippi, Alabama, Georgia, Florida, South Carolina and Virginia) not a single Negro child has enjoyed the right the Court proclaimed four years ago.

Under these circumstances, Lemley's decision, though it caused justifiable outrage in liberal and progressive circles, should not have been a surprise. The High Court in its second decision had provided a built-in apparatus for overturning its first. An organized minority of militant racists were quick to seize it and in Little Rock "all deliberate speed" became deliberate nullification.

A ROLLBACK: The school board called its June 21 "victory" a "tactical delay but not a surrender" of the principle of integration. But the **Christian Science Monitor** saw in the decision "more of a rollback of already accomplished school desegregation than another delay in its implementation."

The reaction of Southern segregationists supported this estimate. Gov. J. Lindsay Almond of Virginia said the situation would be no better "two years hence than it is now." Arkansas Gov. Orval Faubus promised to use the interlude "to shore up the defenses of the state against the sea of federal intervention and domination which threatens to engulf us." Louisiana State Sen. W. M. Rainach declared that "integration just won't work where Negroes make up a substantial percentage of the total population."

In its petition to the Supreme Court the NAACP argued that Lemley's order "will certainly create instability" in many areas where court cases are pending or school boards are preparing to integrate in the fall. The day before the Board of Education of Dallas, Tex., voted not to integrate its schools in September as it had been ordered by a Federal court to do. It based its action on the conflict between state statutes requiring segregation and Federal law as interpreted by the Court.

Major cities in which school integration is scheduled to begin with the next term are Arlington, Charlottesville, Norfolk and Newport News, Va.

WHITE HOUSE VISIT: It seemed clear that whether the rollback could be halted would depend not alone on what the Courts rule, but also on some initiative from the President and the Congress.

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July 13-August 24
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THE GALLERY

THE FIRST NATIONAL MISSILE Industry Conference, held in Washington recently, centered around the theme: "Improving the State of the Art." The following bit of poetry made the rounds during the conference:

My missile lies over the ocean
My missile lies over the sea
If ever my missile is missing
Please bring back the nose cone to me.

Roger W. Babson, dean of American investment advisers, offers the following hints to coupon clippers on how to prepare for thermonuclear war: "Investments should be widely diversified among smaller well-run industrial companies, and among companies owning large reserves of natural resources underground. Chain stores with wide geographical and product diversification are very desirable as a hedge against bombing and inflation. Certain well-located real estate could become very valuable. All should build up reserve buying and investment funds, but avoid long-term bonds. Learn about Civilian Defense, survival suggestions. Finally, I emphasize the importance of sane religious faith, good health, intensive education and industry as the best protection against World War III, and the only hope for survival from any such catastrophe."

"THIS IS NOT A DEPRESSION, or even a recession, but just a business lull caused by the Russian Sputnik and the recent severe weather," says Secy. of Commerce Sinclair Weeks . . . An official of the Internal Revenue service, testifying recently on ethics in government, suggested weight as the decisive factor. He said he draws the line at "a 12-pound ham." He would accept that as a gift, but not a 13-pound one. . . . Prize of the week for evasive action goes to Mason Sears, U.S. delegate to the UN. Arthur S. Lall, Indian delegate, asked Sears why, if the U.S. feels it must continue bomb tests, it doesn't subject its own people to them instead of the "Asian peoples" of the Pacific? "If the representative of India considers the Marshall Islands as Asian, the United States could also be regarded as Asian, since the country is a melting pot of many races," Sears answered.

SOUR GRAPES DEPARTMENT: The **Jewish Daily Forward** comments: "The Soviet Sputniks are like big wail clocks, and the American satellites are like wrist watches that are smaller but just as good if not better than the big wall clocks." . . . Louis Cheskin of Color Research Institute blames the Russians for changing the colors of our automobiles. Their Sputniks have caused Americans to think sobering thoughts and this means darker colored cars, he reasons.

—Tim Wohlforth

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STATE DEPT. BOWS TO COURT

Robeson, Lamont given passports

WITHIN TWO WEEKS after the Supreme Court's June 16 passport ruling, a number of prominent Americans had their travel documents and were planning to use them.

Among these were Paul Robeson, Dr. Corliss Lamont and Anna Louise Strong.

Robeson announced that he would go to London around July 10 for a series of radio, TV and stage engagements. He thanked "the thousands and thousands of people of all races and creeds who have been my well-wishers all these years in the struggle for a passport."

Lamont noted that the Supreme Court decision had given Americans "a new sense of freedom" but pointed out that Secy. of State Dulles' ban on travel to China is still to be fought "so that reporters and ordinary citizens can find out first-hand what is going on among one-fourth of the world's people." Lamont plans a round-the-world trip next year, with extended stays in the Near and Far East.

TWO-YEAR FIGHT: When Miss Strong received her passport in California it ended a two-year fight with the State Dept. She plans to leave late in July for London and then to the Soviet Union. She will report on her travels for the NATIONAL GUARDIAN.

Issuance of the long withheld passports was preceded by an announcement by Miss Frances G. Knight, director of the Passport Office, that answers to questions about political party membership on passport forms would no longer be required. She answered the question of whether the State Dept. would contest the Court ruling by saying: "I don't see any point in just waiting and harassing anyone any longer."

But clerks in the New York passport office last week were still giving a bad time to applicants who left the questions unanswered. One clerk was reported to have told an applicant that she must answer; when she cited Miss Knight's statement, the clerk gave her a blank sheet of paper on which to write her reasons for not answering. When she said she would in any case refuse to answer "as a matter of principle," the clerk said: "Oh, come now, that's not a reason." Another clerk was overheard saying to a third: "We've been having THEM all day long."

HEARINGS SET: Congressional action to nullify the Court's ruling went forward as the Senate Foreign Relations Committee scheduled hearings to begin July 7 on a number of passport-restricting measures.

One bill, sponsored by Sen. James O. Eastland (D-Miss.), would deny passports to Communists, persons accused of treason or felonies, and members of organizations cited for registration by the Subversive Activities Control Board. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee called for protests against these measures and testimony against them in the hearings.

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NEWSPAPER

the SPECTATOR

The Moiseyev rockets

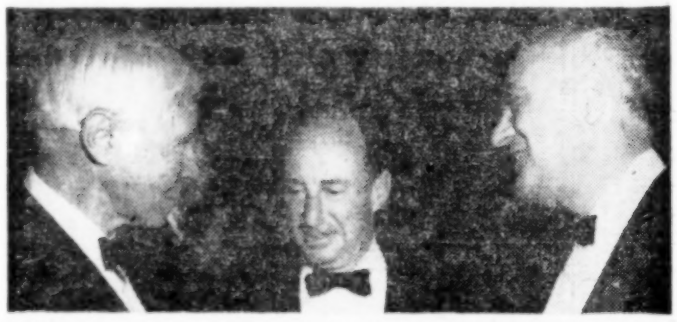
IN HEADLINE TYPE reserved for cataclysmic events, the Chicago **Daily News** front page blared forth: RUSSIANS 'INVADE' CITY.

At the San Francisco Opera House a reporter for the **Berkeley Gazette** heard a man say: "If they fight as well as they dance, we might as well throw in the sponge right now!"

In Boston a character describing himself as "the minister" and his followers picketed the Boston Garden with placards saying "Stop Communism Now" and "I Like Nixon," and gave a story to the newspapers asserting that there were five spies among the 100-member Soviet dance troupe led by Igor Moiseyev which took Boston by storm as it has every other U.S. city visited in its three-month tour.

In Washington John Foster Dulles went backstage to meet Mr. Moiseyev and his dancers after the performance despite "the minister's" warnings; and in New York the **Times'** dance critic, John Martin, figured out that at the end of their tour—which closed with eight performances at Madison Square Garden with at least 13,000 people present at each—the troupe had set an all-time box office record for theatrical attractions in the U. S. with a gross of $1,600,000. This did not include upwards of $75,000 the dance troupe received for a full hour's performance on Ed Sullivan's TV program Sunday night, June 29.

THE GUARDIAN got its most complete out-of-town report from Chicago, where our good friend Mandel A. Terman, businessman



CARL SANDBURG, ADLAI STEVENSON AND MANDEL TERMAN
It was a black-tie affair for the Russian dancers

leader of the Chicago Council of American-Soviet Friendship, turned the town upside down, cops and all, for the dancers' grand entrance.

Soviet Ambassador Mikhail A. Menshikov (who looks rather like Brother Terman, we think) visited Chicago at the same time (mid-May) and parties blossomed all over the Loop, with the one the Mandel Termans gave at the Blackstone topping the society events, while the Executives' Club luncheon for the Ambassador drew 2,200 luncheers and turned 800 away from the Hotel Sherman. Chicago's immortal Carl Sandburg and Illinois' favorite (Dem.) son, Adlai Stevenson, joined a mink-clad mob at the War Memorial Opera House for the Moiseyev opening night.

Even the Chicago **Tribune** (which once said that if the Soviet Union had not existed, Messrs. Truman and Acheson would have had to invent ner to start their Cold War) gave the visitors a welcoming, if frosty, editorial; and a Chicago dance critic, after viewing the performance, warned that Mr. Moiseyev's male dancers couldn't go on jumping the way they did without eventually putting a folk dancer into orbit.

NEW YORK got two turns with the troupe, their grand premiere at the Metropolitan Opera House in April, and their closing performances at Madison Square Garden the last two weekends in June. We of the GUARDIAN had two theater parties with them, at the Met and later at the Garden. And if you have never witnessed 13,000 people clapping in unison for a Virginia Reel, you've missed a once-in-a-lifetime experience! This, and 13,000 voices plus a Russian troupe singing "Hail, Hail the Gang's All Here," providing a final curtain which the **Times** reporter called "a high spot to remember."

Off hours and between shows, the troupe was geniality personified. They gave a Saturday morning to a program of dances on folk themes arranged for them by the Jewish High School of Bronx and Manhattan (with mimeographed programs thoughtfully stencilled in English and Russian, and a Sunday morning to the Dance Teachers Guild, where Mr. Moiseyev himself conducted a master-lesson in Russian folk dances for 500 teachers and enthusiasts. They shopped copiously, ate gallons of ice cream, toured like high school kids everywhere they went.

A few GUARDIAN friends got together with some of them for an impromptu after-theater supper one night during their closing engagement and found them lovable, beautiful, interested and, of course—after better than two hours of incomparable dancing—hungry and thirsty.

For us—all of U. S. that met them, we mean—they proved the most effective ambassadors of good will imaginable. We hope they'll return often, now that they know the way. We hope, too, that our government may perceive that there are other areas of competition than sputniking in which we could and should be vying with the Russians.

—The Spectator